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New York

President: Mr. Essy ..... (Côte d'Ivoire)

The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

Agenda item 92 *(continued)*

Agenda for development: special plenary meetings at a high level to consider ways of promoting and giving political impetus to an agenda for development

(a) Report of the Secretary-General (A/49/665)

(b) Note by the President of the General Assembly (A/49/320)

Mr. Gorita (Romania): The plenary of the General Assembly offers us today its generous framework to debate one of the items of utmost importance at the forty-ninth session: the Agenda for Development. In this context, my delegation wants to express its appreciation of everything that has been done to open the way this year for the possibility of a complex and broad debate, under the aegis of the United Nations, on a matter that is crucial for the world at the end of this century: development.

First of all, we have the Secretary General's report "An agenda for development" (A/48/935) and the recently published "An agenda for development: recommendations" (A/48/665), which provided not only an innovative approach to development but also new ideas about the role of each participant in this process. Together with "An Agenda for Peace", these documents respond to the real needs of mankind in the post-cold-war period and, we hope, will guide the activities of the United Nations system into the next century.

Secondly, there were the World Hearings on Development, which offered a framework for dialogue and an exchange of views on the main aspects of development and on the role of the United Nations system in supporting this process. The wide participation of scientists, politicians and representatives of Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and the private sector confirms the interest in, and the importance given to, this matter and confers a new dimension on the universality of the United Nations.

Thirdly, there was the ministerial segment of the 1994 Economic and Social Council substantive session, where Governments presented their views on the Secretary-General's report. Suggestions were made on completing and enriching it in order to better serve our common goal — development — with a view to the requirements and challenges of the twenty-first century.

We are hopeful that our debate will offer the opportunity of bringing out new conceptual advances clarifications and appropriate suggestions for action within the United Nations to achieve and adopt the final version of the Agenda for Development as soon as possible. By our common effort and action we could ensure that the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations will coincide with the adoption of this document. It would be not only a happy coincidence but also a highly significant decision for the work and the goals of the Organization in the next century. We have the moral obligation to our peoples and our children to succeed in these efforts.

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Allow me to highlight some of the ideas contained in the Secretary-General's reports which have a special relevance for my delegation.

First, we strongly support the concept of the five dimensions of development identified and defined by the Secretary-General. In our view, they represent important conceptual progress in this decade. These five dimensions — peace as the foundation of development, economy as the engine of progress, environment as a basis for sustainability, justice as the pillar of society and democracy as good governance — are seen as parts of an integrated concept of sustainable human development. They are strongly interlinked and confirm the complexity of this concept and of the efforts needed for its promotion. They require sustained efforts by States at the national level, as well as regional and international cooperation. They also require an adequate, coherent, coordinated and efficient multilateral system of support for development between United Nations bodies.

Secondly, we equally support the approach of development as a common problem and responsibility of all countries. The report "An agenda for development" and its recommendations identify in a comprehensive manner the needs, the challenges and the means specific to every group of countries, both developed and developing, as well as those with economies in transition. In our view, the prospects for balanced and sustained global development in the future should be based on a correct assessment of the specific problems of each country.

The third valuable idea that I wish to underline is that national efforts have an essential role in the promotion of development. In this context, good governance and the promotion and encouragement of private initiatives are of the utmost importance and might be regarded as necessary prerequisites for the enhancement of these efforts. In our view, good governance presupposes a political will in favour of change and development; internal stability, both social and political; and adequate policies and strategies to secure the efficient use of existing resources, both human and material, and to maintain equilibrium between short-, medium- and long-term efficiency criteria and options.

But this is not sufficient if there is to be sound and steady national development. Such development has to be facilitated and supported by a favourable international environment, cooperation and assistance in a spirit of partnership, international peace, and stability. In this respect, the United Nations can and must play an important role. To that end, we have the main structures provided under the Charter. In addition, there is a thorough understanding of the interdependence between development and peace. We already have "An Agenda for Peace" and the proposed agenda for development. What we have to do now is to find the ways and means, within the United Nations system, to tackle, in an integrated manner, economic and social development, as well as peace and security problems. Development is, in fact, a tool of preventive diplomacy, and peace, in its turn, a prerequisite for development.

Democracy and respect for human rights have an increasing role in the process of achieving sustainable development. In the economic sphere, democratization implies a decreasing role for Governments as main economic agents; decentralization in the economic decision-making process; and support and encouragement for private initiative. In our view, the creative capacities of individuals, acting within an adequate and supportive institutional and legal framework set up by their Governments, is the key to efficient and sustained economic growth.

At the same time, combining the innovative capacities of individuals with coordinated action by Governments for the purpose of achieving social goals is essential to human development, which is the ultimate goal of any development process.

The report "An Agenda for Development" and especially the recently published recommendations, in document A/49/665, contain important suggestions for an effective multilateral development system and for more efficient and effective United Nations development activities. We have noted these with interest, and we believe that in the run-up to the adoption of the final version of an agenda for development we should focus our efforts on defining pragmatic and concrete ways of ensuring efficiency and coordination in the development activities of the United Nations system.

My delegation supports the establishment of an intergovernmental working group — a body subordinate to the General Assembly — as the framework for new debates and for the exchange of views on this issue. We are confident that, together with the contributions of the representatives of Governments and of the intergovernmental organizations, the output of such a group would provide the necessary balance between the already valuable conceptual part of the proposed agenda for development and the courses of future action.

It is our deep conviction that the United Nations system is the most appropriate framework within which to promote global development and that the existing structures could respond to this challenge. The spirit of revitalization should encourage concrete measures aimed at enhancing the functions of the various bodies responsible for development and at increasing the efficiency of their activities. A partnership for development — something that implies not only cooperation between States but also cooperation between Member States and the United Nations system — is more necessary now than it has ever been.

I wish to conclude by quoting from the report that deals with the Secretary General's recommendations:

> "No real improvements will be possible unless the Member States are convinced of the need for, and unless nations and peoples everywhere share the fruits of, the proposed changes. Member States are challenged to grasp this opportunity and make the United Nations system a far more effective instrument of multilateralism." *(A/49/665, para. 13)*

Mr. Sucharipa (Austria): Austria welcomed the submission of the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Development". Today we join others in expressing appreciation of the concrete recommendations that have been presented, which, we understand, are based on that report. The new document contains many thought-provoking, far-reaching and innovative recommendations. It certainly merits further thorough and detailed examination in the course of our continuing efforts to finalize the proposed agenda for development. This, no doubt, will be done in the months to come, and the Austrian delegation supports the idea of the establishment of a working group for the purpose. Today, owing to the fact that the recommendations were presented just a few days ago, we can only focus on some selected major issues.

The report and the recommendations acknowledge the priority to be given by the entire United Nations system to the notion of development. It is important that all Member States acknowledge this priority if we are to find a common basis for our further endeavours.

We concur with the Secretary-General in his statement that, together, peace, the economy, environmental protection, social justice and democracy constitute a comprehensive approach to the overall dimension of development.

Economic development is essential to the success of our efforts towards peace, environmental protection, social welfare and democracy on a global scale. At the same time, all these dimensions are vital to success in our efforts to achieve sustainable economic development, with the human being at the centre of our concerns as we evolve a long-term development strategy in which the private sector and entrepreneurship, as well as good governance, will have a crucial impact.

Austria welcomes the clear emphasis that the Secretary-General places on the empowerment of women as a priority goal of the United Nations system. In virtually every dimension of development the role of women is a central element. We hope that at the forthcoming World Conference in Beijing this understanding will be crystallized into strong commitments to action. We therefore feel that a recommendation concerning improvement of the status of women in all societies should be considered in the context of section A of Chapter II, which sets out the recommendations. This is the section that deals with national policies for development.

International development cooperation cannot supplant the primary responsibility of each individual State to promote its own development policy and efforts. The proposed agenda for development should recognize that the development process is country-specific. The international community can only assist a particular State in its efforts towards development. It will have to provide support where this is required and where it is possible to do so. Austria recognizes the potential of international development cooperation that is based on the principle of partnership.

Scarcity of resources, at the national and international levels, makes inevitable the setting of priorities. Resources must be used in such a manner that the limited means available achieve the most positive results and meet the most pressing needs.

In recent years, several countries have had to face new economic and social problems on their way to transforming their economies to market-oriented standards. With the support of the international community, their integration into the world economy must be facilitated. The recommendation of the Secretary-General in that context calls for additional resources, a call which we support. Austria has assisted countries with economies in transition while maintaining at the same time its level of cooperation with developing

countries. Furthermore, flows to developing countries reported last year have increased in real terms.

Major concerns have been addressed here and at other levels that the United Nations could not respond adequately to the new emerging global dimensions with regard to development issues. We do believe that the United Nations has to fulfil these tasks in close interaction between all United Nations bodies and agencies. The Bretton Woods institutions and the future World Trade Organization are principal actors in the field of international development cooperation. Austria supports the idea that such cooperation, based on the recognition of the respective identity and the respective mandate of each organization, should be complementary and should avoid unnecessary competition.

The recent international Conferences, in Rio on Environment and Development; in Barbados on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States; in Vienna on Human Rights; and recently in Cairo on Population and Development, have helped to further develop a comprehensive concept of development. In that respect, Austria fully endorses the proposal made in paragraph 35 of the recommendations of the Secretary-General that a common framework should be developed to follow up major United Nations Conferences, past and future, and that goals and targets endorsed by international conferences and summits should be synthesized and placed in a reasonable time perspective.

The Austrian delegation will have this proposal in mind when we deliberate on the follow up of the two next major Conferences, the World Social Summit and the Fourth World Conference on Women.

With regard to the role envisaged for the Economic and Social Council in paragraph 45 of the recommendations, it is our understanding that resolution 48/162 created exactly this kind of relationship between the Economic and Social Council as a unifying governing entity and the executive councils of the operational funds and programmes. We join the Secretary-General in his hope that the Council will discharge its governance function ever more effectively.

The United Nations provides a unique forum for raising public consciousness, providing information, defining the international development agenda and building the consensus needed for action. Austria has pointed out on various occasions that in our view the United Nations does not fully realize its potential of providing essential information needed for decision-making, since its data and analyses are often fragmented, presented in different formats, and compartmentalized in a multitude of competing reports.

In the context of the restructuring and the revitalization process, Austria proposed as early as in 1992 the creation of a system of integrated reports in the economic, social and related fields. Such a system of integrated reports could culminate in a state of the world development report, outlining clear options for the setting of development policy priorities. Such a report would also constitute a valuable tool in the service of preventive development, a notion proposed by the Secretary-General which deserves our full support.

Mr. Edwards (Marshall Islands): Allow me at the outset to thank the Secretary-General for his report on an agenda for development, contained in document A/49/665. I should like to make a few remarks that my delegation feels are pertinent to our discussion on this report.

I should also like to associate myself with the statement made on behalf of the Group of 77 by its Chairman. In particular, we are grateful for his remarks regarding the predominance of international expenditures on peace-keeping. This imbalance should be adequately addressed, and these discussions should put us on the right path.

Mr. Mwaungulu (Malawi), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The Secretary-General has very accurately identified the so-called five pillars of development: peace, economic growth, environment, social justice and democracy. It is significant to note that none of the five can be addressed separately, as they are all required for development. The Secretary-General also points out many failings of development efforts. These may arise out of the United Nations system, or they may have other origins. He also makes a number of significant points in the first section of the report. He reminds us of the great challenges of development that lie ahead of us, and we thank him for that. The recommendations that he puts forward for action in the United Nations system are not entirely satisfactory. These would do little more than to exacerbate the debating nature of our deliberations here. Very little practical gain can come from merely extending the talking. What we require are concrete actions to

improve our access to development funds. There is little need to discuss the conceptuality of development.

The Marshall Islands is well aware of the development needs that we do have. In our opinion, we satisfy many of the basic principles enshrined on the basis of the five pillars. We have also identified the means by which we can achieve development in a number of areas. Projects have been planned and scheduled by all the Ministries. For example, the Environmental Protection Authority, which is under the purview of the Ministry of Health and Environment, established a cross-sectoral National Environmental Management Strategy. It contains a number of recommendations and projects that would benefit the people of the Marshall Islands, and would stimulate economic growth by improving the underdeveloped sectors. However, most of these projects are still waiting to be implemented, since there simply are not enough funds to start them.

The Marshall Islands Government is very interested in regional economic cooperation and integration, and we feel that this has been given adequate mention by the Secretary-General. International cooperation for development is not an option, but a requirement for global peace and stability. However, we must point out that regional cooperation will not be possible without jump-starting all our economies in the Pacific.

This has been given a potential framework within the Programme of Action of the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States. In this regard, we would welcome the further elaboration of technical cooperation between developing countries. As the European Union pointed out, there is indeed a growing disparity among the developing countries, and we would gratefully accept assistance from our more affluent Group of 77 fellow members.

One of the major criticisms of development efforts over the years has been that they have created a lot of white elephants. My delegation is well aware of this. It is of concern to us that there has been so much wastage of resources over the years and that this has at times been approved by both donors and recipients. The question we have concerns the transparency of development project-planning. The projects that we should like to see in the Marshall Islands are generally low in cost and have been planned out in close cooperation and consultation with all affected parties, particularly the local people who, in our view, should participate from the very inception of such undertakings. We have never accepted a development project simply because it was recommended by outsiders.

On the question of debt, we are of course very sympathetic to countries whose debt may have escalated to uncontrolled proportions through their despotic leaders. It is a shame that so much wealth — money that could have greatly benefited the peoples concerned — was pilfered. But what are the implications if this debt is forgiven, at least for Africa and the least developed countries of the world? What about countries that have managed to avoid such bad debt situations? Will they be marginalized because of their good management record? Should we not become more responsible in terms of setting up these loan agreements?

The Group of 77 is very concerned with conditionalities on development assistance, a view that my Government shares. But we have to face some facts regarding the responsibility of good governance. If you do not have a clean house, you should borrow money to clean it up. You should not borrow money to buy a gun or to spend on a lavish dinner for yourself. We share the view expressed by Honduras that military expenditure is detrimental to development efforts.

The sometimes high social cost of structural adjustment that we can see in certain countries is a matter of great concern to us. We have become convinced of the need of some of these programmes. They are bound to work slowly, but they may not work at all if those with power do not feel obliged to serve the interests of the people. We would all be well-served to heed the suggestions made by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore: clean government; an effective and well-paid civil service; family planning; pragmatism, not dogma, in economics; freedom for foreigners and local entrepreneurs to get on with their business; universal education; results, not political correctness; and the maintenance of national solidarity and social cohesion.

The challenges that the developing countries face in terms of achieving sustainable development require honest self-reflection on the one hand and financial assistance on the other. Only national Governments can set the goals, but they cannot succeed without the assistance of the international community. In this regard there is definitely a role for a United Nations conference on the financing of development, provided that such a conference can help to strengthen the United Nations system in the economic sphere. We have already reached a consensus on the path forward at many conferences.

There is of course a need to ensure the coherence of these efforts, but what we really need is action and not more talk.

Mr. Abu Odeh (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is my pleasure to speak on behalf of my delegation on item 92, an agenda for development. At the outset, I should like sincerely to thank the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the subsequent report to the agenda for development he has issued recently.

There is no doubt that comprehensive development, in terms of urgency and scope, is currently one of the most significant and far-reaching international responsibilities of our time. It is so for many reasons that are known to all. The most important of those reasons is that the improvement of the living conditions of the human being is its main objective. The United Nations Charter, which does not draw any lines between the maintenance of international peace and security on the one hand, and the achievement of social and economic development, on the other, has entrenched the fundamental truism which is the guiding light of our endeavours, namely that there is no peace without development and there is no development without peace.

I wish also to thank Ambassador Insanally, the President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session, for his efforts in organizing the World Hearings on Development which coincided with the preparation of the Secretary-General's report on an agenda for development.

The delegation of Jordan wishes to reiterate Jordan's support for the five underpinnings of development which form the five dimensions of the agenda for development, namely, peace, economic growth as the generator of prosperity, the environment, social justice and democracy. To deal with the issues of development in the light of these dimensions is to ensure that our conceptual approach, our policies and programmes would enable us to achieve the objective of improving the human condition through the eradication of poverty, hunger, disease and unemployment. Unfortunately however, the spectre of poverty still haunts our world, despite our lofty beliefs, and more than a billion people live in extreme conditions and suffer the horrific effect of poverty.

We have all adopted the promotion and coordination of international cooperation for development as a slogan which we have raised and which we have striven to translate into action. As a matter of fact, that slogan has become common currency.

In so doing, we have been able to identify the problems and obstacles standing in the way of international development efforts. When we address such problems as external indebtedness, trade, capital flows and access to technology, we are actually dealing with the very foundations of development. Therefore, addressing such problems calls for serious cooperation between the North and the South and this, in turn, requires:

First, that we put our house in order on the national level. In order for us to do that, we have to keep in view the following facts: the end of the cold war and the receding spectre of war have made it possible or, rather, made it the responsibility of every State to rearrange its priorities, in accordance with its actual needs, in the light of the profound and rapid changes that are taking place in the world. It is high time nations turned from spending on armaments to investing in development. In this respect, the optimum utilization of the disposable resources must be accorded a high priority by every State. The creation of a real culture of development is essential for any solid partnership between the State and society. Such a partnership can be achieved through the efforts of non-governmental organizations, the media and the intellectuals in general because involving the individual citizen in the development process has become an indispensable necessity. On the other hand, there is no doubt that encouraging privatization and the promotion of the private sector are major prerequisites in giving impetus to the development process and, consequently, in putting our house in order on the national level.

Second: addressing the problems I have referred to and securing the necessary North/South cooperation also require that we promote cooperation between countries of the South. After putting the house in order on the national level, there is the need to strengthen dialogue and cooperation amongst the countries of the South as focusing on an exclusive South-North relationship without reactivating and institutionalizing cooperation amongst the countries of the South would impede the process of development. Jordan has signed recently an agreement setting up the South Centre and it is our hope that the Centre will become the mechanism which will make it possible to strengthen cooperation in the development field, and ensure the unity of objectives not only amongst the countries of the South but also between South and North. In this respect, I should like to state that the Jordan-Israel peace treaty which was signed recently may

serve, despite the differing levels of development between the two countries, as a model for regional cooperation and partnership. The two parties have signed an agreement involving a number of issues that require serious cooperation between the two countries in order to achieve mutually beneficial objectives. That agreement covers a number of areas of cooperation such as water resources, energy, the environment and trade. The agreement came after a period of war that plagued the region for a long time and affected development adversely. The idea of setting up a development bank in the region is a very important one that should be given due attention. My Government hopes that such an institution will materialize and become the machinery through which regional partnership will take place. The Casablanca conference in Morocco has paved the way towards a much broader regional cooperation that will have a positive impact at the international level.

Worthy of note in this connection is the question of the flow of assistance from the North to the South and in particular Official Development Assistance. At present, we live in a world that is no longer the world of the cold war era. International partnership and globalization are our two main avenues to a better world of sustainable development. In the cold war era, the prevailing idea was that assistance to the countries of the South was a purely political matter. This view must change. It must be replaced by the conviction that assistance to countries of the South is an investment in development and peace. Investing in international partnership is a two-way street that brings benefits to all. We in Jordan while we are aware that the North has its share of economic problems, call on the countries of the North take a more positive view of assistance to the countries of the South.

In this connection, it is important to assist the least developed countries in order to bring them into the fold of international partnership. The developing countries that are seriously striving to achieve sustainable development bear a heavy burden indeed in trying to achieve short-term trade balances and more often than not this militates against their striving after sustainable development.

My country has repeatedly suggested that the agenda for development should include a programme of compensating developing countries with long-term gains for the suffering they endure in the short term. The proposal involves the adoption of objective criteria whereby the achievements of the countries striving after sustainable development may be assessed. Such criteria include respect for human rights, and developing the human being, as well as the reports of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank on the implementation of restructuring and structural reform programmes. Also criteria of the success of protection of the environment programmes may be applied. Assistance and support would then be given to those countries that demonstrate the ability to satisfy these criteria within the limits of their capabilities.

The problem of indebtedness is still a major obstacle that obstructs the efforts of many a country in the areas of investment and job creation. Debt reduction would have a positive effect in this respect and would be a major step forward. My country would like sincerely to thank the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom for their assistance to Jordan in this respect.

A system of international incentives would serve to liberalize economies and world trade, thus promoting the private sector and reducing the role of government. This is a tremendous task involving some major responsibilities. Countries that are striving in this direction do that in order to relax the constraints imposed by debt repayment or to obtain external assistance. Consequently, it is important to make appropriate arrangements to support those countries in pursuing that path and help them by replacing those pressures with a more beneficial incentives system.

In conclusion, I should like to refer to the last report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations where he stated:

> "It is the people, on whose behalf we all act, who are the true custodians of the emerging new vision of development. It is for them that we must work to achieve a new framework for development cooperation and the revitalization of the United Nations system". (*A/49/665, para. 92*)

Mr. Batu (Turkey): Allow me first to join other speakers in thanking the Secretary-General for his report on the recommendations for an agenda for development (A/49/665), which is a follow-up to his earlier report, and for the World Hearings on Development.

For too long, the role of the United Nations in the economic and social field has been marginalized and confined more and more to the borders of its premises. The resurgence of new conflicts has forced the United Nations to put more emphasis on security/peace-keeping

related issues, giving the erroneous impression that economic and social issues do not have the first priority in its agenda. With the end of the cold war and a growing constructive spirit in the international arena, we believe that the United Nations has every opportunity to recover the ground it has lost for elevating economic and social issues to the place they deserve in its order of priorities.

The end of ideological strife has also ended the compartmentalization of major components such as political, security and social issues. It is now mostly recognized that security cannot be viewed in political and military terms alone, and that peace and prosperity are indivisible. Against this background, we welcome initiatives to revive the United Nations role in development activities.

We have carefully studied the recommendations outlined in the report, to which my delegation subscribes and which we support. The report's concise and all-encompassing nature will be a valuable asset for the international community. It has to be accepted that peace and economic growth are the very foundations on which the remaining three dimensions, namely environmental protection, social justice and democracy, can flourish. And, in return, these can further nourish peace and economic growth in a sustainable manner.

It is obvious that development is carried out in an international arena with multiple players. However, every State and Government has to set its own priorities and must bear the prime responsibility for its development. No nation can expect others to carry out functions on its behalf. Here it has to be emphasized that the partnership of non-State players in civilian society, such as the private sector, community-based organizations and popular movements, is of growing importance. Only through these actors can the vast spectrum of the population be encompassed and development projects be worked out, planned and carried out. In this context, the dimension of democracy plays a crucial role.

The importance and impact of a favourable international setting cannot be overemphasized. The vicious cycle of poverty, overpopulation, lack of human and natural resources, environmental degradation and debt, in which the less developed countries in particular have been trapped, has to be broken.

Turkey, for its part, despite undergoing harsh economic adjustment policies, has initiated and participated in various international and regional economic- and technical-cooperation schemes within and outside the United Nations system to assist countries in transition and less developed countries.

There is wide realization of the need for an integrated and multidisciplinary approach, in order to implement in a tangible way the recommendations and goals of the Earth Summit held at Rio, the International Conference on Population and Development, held at Cairo, the forthcoming World Summit for Social Development, to be held at Copenhagen, the Fourth World Conference on Women, to be held at Beijing, and the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), to be held at Istanbul.

We welcome the initiative for broader and more substantive cooperation between the United Nations specialized agencies and the Bretton Woods institutions. The United Nations — with its ability to raise public awareness, to provide information, to define the international development agenda and to build consensus, as well as with its neutrality, its unmatched global network of regional commissions and country offices and its immense delivery capacity — has a unique position and strength among international forums. However, it must also be borne in mind that there should be no attempt to harm its neutrality and effectiveness. It is much too easy to politicize the issues of development; if we do so, we might end up right where we started this exercise.

My country has shown its keen interest in participating, and its willingness to participate, in the endeavour to strengthen the United Nations in the social and economic fields by increasing its pledge for development activities by 20 per cent at the recent pledging conference. We look forward to a successful outcome on this agenda item.

Mr. Abibi (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): As I join in the Assembly's consideration of the Agenda for Development, I wish, like other speakers, to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the high quality of his recent report on this item.

The delegation of the Republic of the Congo endorses the important statement made at the outset of the debate by my colleague and friend Ambassador Ramtane Lamamra, Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, on behalf of the Group of 77 and China.

In my brief statement today, I shall basically lend support to some of the elements he discussed.

Document A/49/665, whose recommendations supplement those issued in May, contains proposals that mark an unquestionable step forward in the inevitably arduous process of formulating an Agenda for Development. My delegation is pleased that a number of milestones have been erected along the lengthy road on which we embarked in 1992. It is particularly heartening that development is now unanimously seen as the paramount task of the day, one calling for urgent, decisive, joint action by the entire international community.

We hail the growing consensus that the multiple dimensions of development must be addressed. Hence, economic growth, while an essential precondition for development, should not be an end in itself, but should be viewed as a powerful way of improving mankind's well-being, eradicating hunger, disease and ignorance, and creating employment for all. That approach, of course, obliges us to rethink international cooperation for development so as to furnish it with content and dynamism commensurate with today's challenges by lifting its burden of anachronistic dross.

It is vital that all partners, rich and poor, acknowledge the truth of one of the basic conclusions of the World Hearings on Development, that

> "sustained growth in the developed areas of the world depends also on raising living standards in developing areas of the world". (*A/49/320, annex, para. 18*).

In other words, the right approach to international cooperation for development is in the interest of both poor countries and rich countries. The United Nations system must promote this vision of international cooperation for development.

We agree with the Secretary-General's stress on the major role the United Nations should play in defining policies and in carrying out operations.

At this stage in the formulation of the Agenda for Development, the areas requiring action have essentially been properly identified. These include trade, debt-management, direct investment, capital flows, access to technology, subregional and regional cooperation, and other areas.

My delegation welcomes the fact that the heavily stricken continent of Africa holds a place of high priority in the Secretary-General's recommendations, and we greatly appreciate the general thrust of the document, which pursues further the in-depth analysis of the economic situations that prevail today through research into bold solutions to the problems that have been identified: that is true in the case of financing on which the Secretary-General suggests the convening of an international conference on the financing of development; and is true also in the area of debt management where he envisages simply writing off the debts of the poorest countries, among other measures. These initiatives have our support.

While taking into account the very large number of specific proposals made in the recommendations before us, my delegation believes that the debate on this important issue should be pursued in an appropriate setting with a view to drawing up a document that could be adopted in solemn fashion on the occasion of the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

In the context of such an approach the various agreements already obtained on development issues should be taken into account and should serve as the basis for our common consideration of the matter in order to pave the way for an agenda for development that will be a genuine, resolute commitment by the international community, aimed at making decisive changes in the situation of imbalance between the developed and developing countries which is at present the salient feature of the world economy.

My delegation believes, as has been proposed, that a General Assembly working group, open-ended in its membership, is the appropriate intergovernmental setting for pursuing the thinking on this important issue and embarking on negotiations on matters that are still pending in our methodical quest for a historic consensus on development which would serve as the basis for United Nations activities in the economic field as it celebrates its fiftieth anniversary.

Mr. Jilani (Pakistan): I should like to take this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General for his report entitled "Agenda for development".

The World Hearings on Development, held earlier this year, and the debate in the high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council have helped us move the

process launched two years ago towards concluding the agenda. The discussions that started with the adoption of General Assembly resolution 47/181 have set the stage for the elaboration of a United Nations Agenda for Development which takes into account existing realities. As we are about to start the fiftieth year since the creation of the United Nations, it is appropriate for the General Assembly to review the role of the United Nations in development. There has been a manifold increase in demands on the United Nations system, in some cases in unrealistic proportions, with no concomitant increase in resources. It is essential that, based on the provisions of the Charter, the United Nations prioritize and synthesize its role in development.

The original vision of the United Nations sought security from war and universal economic and social well-being. Chapter IX of the Charter stresses

> "With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being, which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations ... All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the Organization" *(Articles 55 and 56)*

for promoting

> "... higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development". *(Article 55)*

In complementing the Agenda for Peace the United Nations agenda for development should, therefore, deal with the question of insecurity arising from, *inter alia*, chronic poverty. The agenda would constitute a comprehensive policy framework integrating socio-economic development and, therefore, introducing security through development.

The world economy is once again at a major turning-point. The Bretton Woods structures, constructed after the Second World War, have, no doubt, made a substantial contribution to the significant growth of the world economy. But economic prosperity has spread unevenly and unequally. The world economy is dominated by the major industrialized Powers. Their fiscal, trade and political decisions and interaction have had a considerable impact on the political fortunes — and misfortunes — of the developing countries. The gap between the developed and the developing countries has continued to increase.

We agree with the Secretary-General that economic growth is not an option, it is an imperative. In the absence of growth there can be no real development. Social progress and poverty reduction are impossible over the long term in the absence of economic growth. The upward trend in economic growth figures is encouraging. The impact of the long recession of the past few years was felt most starkly in the developing countries. It has been most serious for the weakest and most vulnerable economies — with stagnating prices for their commodities, a high debt burden and inadequate development financing compounded by natural and man-made disasters. The agenda for development, in its attempt to define the concept of development, must underscore the critical importance of growth in any development strategy.

Since 1945 the development of developing countries was promoted on the basis of explicit and implicit commitments by the industrial world expressed in various political declarations and documents, including the International Development Strategies. Development was to be promoted by three principal instruments: access to finance; access to markets; and the transfer of the technology and skills required for development, as the world economy achieved greater efficiency and productivity on the basis of comparative economic advantage.

The concept was, however, never applied in its pristine form. Access to markets, money and know-how has always been unequal. An examination of the trends in financial flows over the past four decades reveals the asymmetry in the distribution of investment resources in the world. Similarly, trade access has been highly unequal for the developing countries.

A fair and open international trading system is, ideally, the basis of development activities. The conclusion of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations leading to the elaboration of rules to ensure that international trade is free and fair is a positive development. While this may strengthen the ability of smaller countries to resist unilateral and discriminatory trade measures, such as voluntary restraints imposed by the developed countries, we need to pursue efforts for the elimination of all protectionist measures.

At the same time, there is a compelling argument for preferential treatment, for transitional periods, for the more disadvantaged States. This would mean greater coordination of macroeconomic policies not only among

the developed countries but also between the developed and the developing countries. Efforts should be made to correct the existing external and fiscal imbalances, promote non-inflationary sustainable growth, lower real rates of interest and make exchange rates more stable and markets more accessible.

Official development assistance has to remain an essential source of concessional aid to the developing countries, particularly to the poorest and the least developed ones. It is a matter of deep concern to the developing countries that donor aid programmes have seldom achieved the internationally agreed target of their gross national product. This is further compounded by the unfair conditionalities imposed by the donors. The Agenda for Development must stress that the official development assistance should provide exactly what its name suggests. Arrangements in world finance must be worked out, offering greater equity in the distribution of international liquidity to all countries and significantly enhancing development financing, which is indispensable for economic development. It is a matter of grave concern that the financial commitments made to the United Nations development system have been declining steadily. In this context, the Agenda for Development must call for new and innovative modalities for funding.

There was great hope as the cold war ended that the release of resources from reductions in military spending would increase the budgetary balance of the industrial countries and that they would therefore be able to devote part of the benefits to development. Unfortunately, the diversion of the reduced military resources to development efforts has not actually taken place. It is important, therefore, to maximize resources for development by allocating a proportion of the reduction in military expenditures to development. In this context my delegation would strongly support the Secretary-General's recommendation to convene an international conference on the financing of development.

The burden of debt-servicing payments has severely constrained the possibility of realizing accelerated growth and development. Finding a solution to the debt problems of the developing countries should be one of the important aspects of the Agenda for Development. A case exists for the total or substantial cancellation of the debts of the least developed and low-income countries.

It is important for the Agenda for Development to provide for an enhancement of opportunities for the transfer and application of modern technology to economic and social development. Policies and measures in this regard should not militate against the capacity of developing countries to utilize scientific and technological development. Methods must also be found to provide access to and transfer of technology on concessional and preferential terms, particularly to the developing countries.

Confronted with immediate fiscal and monetary problems, most developing countries are constrained to implement structural-adjustment policies. This severely erodes their ability to pursue programmes for social and human development, thus adversely affecting the most vulnerable sector of the population of the developing countries. What we need to promote is people-centred sustainable development, with special emphasis on promoting balanced socio-economic development, human development and poverty alleviation. In this regard the international community has recognized on innumerable occasions that the eradication of poverty in developing countries should be given the highest priority in development. While effective domestic policies are important, a supportive international economic environment is also crucial for the success of the efforts of developing countries to eradicate poverty. In this regard the international community and donor agencies must implement technical-cooperation programmes for human development without imposing conditionalities and unfair practices.

The agreements reached at the Rio Summit constitute an important advance towards recognizing that equitable development and environmentally harmless development are twin imperatives. The fulfilment of the global commitments to achieving those imperatives is therefore very important.

The General Assembly, since the adoption of resolution 45/264, has been involved in reviewing the institutional mechanisms and the intergovernmental bodies with the objective of revitalizing the role of the United Nations in the economic and social fields. Decisions taken as a result of these processes have, however, not been able to ensure a more integrated approach to development. It is evident that such processes are becoming an end in themselves rather than a means of achieving greater coherence. The entire discussions relating to resolution 48/162 were based on the assumption that the restructuring of the governing bodies of United Nations funds and programmes would lead to a basic stability of resources for operational activities for development. The results to this effect have not been

evident. Continuous debates on restructuring will not help to solve our problem. There has to be a commitment by Member States to ensuring that implementation of the decisions taken by them would ensure the viability and critical role of the United Nations in development.

We should like to see the following specific elements included in the Agenda for Development: first, there should be an agreement for a non-discriminatory world trading system; second, official development assistance should remain the essential source of concessional aid; third, new and innovative modalities should be found for fund raising; fourth, development-assistance programmes should be driven by the priorities of the recipient countries rather than by goals determined by the donors; fifth, resources should be maximized by allocating a proportion of the reduced military expenditure to development; sixth, the problem of the external indebtedness of the developing countries should be solved; seventh, foreign direct investment should constitute the most significant source of external finance; eighth, opportunities for the transfer and application of modern technologies for economic development must be enhanced; ninth, people-centred sustainable development must be stressed; and, tenth, global commitments made at the Rio Summit must be fulfilled.

In conclusion, we agree with the Secretary-General that the fiftieth session of the General Assembly would be an appropriate occasion for launching the United Nations Agenda for Development. In this context, we would also like that session of the General Assembly to consider the proposal of the Brazilian delegation to convene an international conference on development.

Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia)(*interpretation from French*): We welcome the appearance of the much-anticipated report of the Secretary-General, "An Agenda for Development." As we know, that document was produced at the specific request of the developing countries, countries whose concerns are focused on development — indeed, we may say that development is their principal concern.

Hence, we are aware of the real value of the contents of this document, which has been revised in the light of the comments and thoughts expressed by the Group of 77 in the Ministerial Declaration adopted in June 1994. The Agenda is the product of high-level discussion within the framework of the World Hearings on Development held in June 1994 by the President of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly, and was given further consideration at the substantive session of the Economic and Social Council. The Agenda we are discussing today reflects the multitude of inputs and the diversity of approaches of all who helped to draft it.

The multitude of inputs has not affected its value because the agenda as a whole is focused on development. Therefore I wish to offer heartfelt congratulations to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the high quality of the report, which is both concise and thorough. The recommendations included in the annex to the document are all valuable; they are the culmination of the work done and deserve to be discussed and supplemented in order to decide on practical measures that are action-oriented, enabling us to move from the idea stage to practical planning.

The agenda for development, which is the counterpart to "An Agenda for Peace", contributes to renewed dialogue in the multilateral sphere at a time when the opening of all countries to a market economy and the consolidation of interdependence are the main economic characteristics of the end of this century. The globalization of international relations cannot but enhance the role of the United Nations, which is pivotal in this new relationship because of its universal character, its democratic mission and its contribution to development.

Therefore we share the view of the Secretary-General contained in the recommendation on the role of the Organization as a forum that can fashion a consensus, design macroeconomic policies and take action for development.

In this framework, improved cooperation and expanded joint activities by the Bretton Woods institutions and the United Nations should be institutionalized in order to rationalize their contribution to the development of the developing countries. Joint initiatives could be taken for a better division of labour in drawing up policies and carrying out activities to promote effective action at the economic, social and development levels.

The cooperation proposed in the report of the Secretary-General between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions, which is a commendable initiative, nevertheless seems to be somewhat limited since it encompasses only the following areas: poverty-reduction strategies, the granting of micro-credits, improving productivity in the resource sector and in the development of sustainable energy; socially and environmentally responsible structural adjustment

programmes; strengthening capacities and improving public-sector management; and the promotion of development as a means of preventing conflicts, of peace-building and of post-conflict peace-building.

Greater interest, more dialogue and improved coordination do seem possible to us in the other three dimensions of development advocated by the agenda: the economy, the environment and social justice.

Regarding the suggestions to revitalize the Economic and Social Council, Tunisia cannot but support any proposal that seeks to enhance the role entrusted to this body under the Charter of the United Nations. Accordingly, increased coordination between the Council and the United Nations specialized agencies would be a valuable contribution towards attaining the goal of strengthened action by the United Nations for development. Along the same lines, Tunisia wishes to stress its commitment to the universal and democratic nature of the United Nations, which makes the Organization a unique, indispensable forum for exchanging views, for molding international opinion and the elaboration of the consensus that is necessary for implementing agreements on any framework for cooperation for development and any integrated approach in this priority field.

In this context, our commitment to increased universality, democratization and transparency in the Organization cannot but leave us skeptical about the usefulness of the recommendation contained in the report of the Secretary-General that seeks to establish an expanded bureau of the Economic and Social Council that would meet inter-sessionally to discuss basic issues such as ones relating to development. This bureau, even in its expanded form, would mean a significant drop in the number of States participating in the discussion, whereas our countries put their faith in the transparency, universality and democratization of United Nations bodies. However commendable it may be, the proposal does not seem to us to be urgent enough to deserve adoption within the context of this agenda.

Bearing in mind the thrust of the Secretary-General's report and the wide-ranging debate it has given rise to, as well as the need to see the development objectives of the developing countries taken into account in any approach towards action to be undertaken, Tunisia considers that the implementation of the agenda for development must be based on development and the growth of the developing countries.

In order to do this, transfer of technology; foreign investment; a comprehensive solution to the problem of debt, including the recycling of the amount of the debt and of debt servicing in co-development projects; the partnership between North and South; and, lastly, South-South cooperation — all are sectors that need to be part of any programme or plan of action that seeks to implement the objectives of the agenda.

Likewise, we hope that the programme of action that will emerge from the agenda will reflect the aspect of trade between various nations. Accordingly, the entry into force in the coming months of the agreement that will establish the World Trade Organization should provide an opportunity for close cooperation between that body and the United Nations in order to help to expand trade and trade flows, and that will certainly be a positive factor in the growth and development of the developing countries. Turning specifically to Africa, I wish to refer to the recommendations of the African Ministers for Trade at their latest meeting in Tunis, from 24 to 27 October 1994.

The Tunis conference, which reflected the determination of the African leaders to adapt the economies of their countries to changes we are witnessing in the international economy, also provided an opportunity to launch an appeal to the industrialized countries and the international financial institutions to guarantee to African countries the assistance they need to implement the Marrakesh agreements.

I wish to salute here the renewed interest shown by the Secretary-General in his agenda on the question of the development of Africa. The taking into consideration in his report of the resolution of the Economic and Social Council relating to the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s is an initiative that we support.

The establishment of a study group that will determine the main initiatives to be taken for Africa is a step in the right direction. We believe that the work to be done here should focus on specific objectives and problems and be oriented towards mobilizing support from the international community for the development and economic recovery of Africa.

Finally, I wish to stress that a new agenda for development must be also based on individuals. Economic development is an absolutely central factor, but we must take into account the balance and harmony that

must govern any programme in this area, stressing education, health and social welfare as well as improving the role and status of women.

Since development is closely linked to improved living standards, the elimination of hunger, disease and illiteracy and guaranteed jobs for all are basic goals. Just like the economy and peace, environmental protection and the promotion of sustainable development are important factors that will determine our future in both the developed and the developing world.

We must focus on these aspects of development which are the very basis of sustainability and which must be basic components in any implementation of the agenda for development. Accordingly, we believe that the Organization should focus its action on the basis of agreements concluded during major international conferences, on the relationship between all aspects of sustainable development that have not been analysed sufficiently and on recommendations for providing a precise framework of action in the agenda.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): The Nigerian delegation welcomes the opportunity to participate in the debate on an "Agenda for Development", on which the representative of Algeria, in his capacity as Chairman of the Group 77 and China, has already made a statement. My delegation lends full support to that statement. We would, however, like to make some additional remarks from a national perspective.

Recalling the Secretary General's report on "An Agenda for Peace", we believe that his follow-up action and recommendations on an "Agenda for development", contained in document A/49/665 dated 11 November 1994, are most timely. In expressing our views on an Agenda for Development, my delegation would like to pay special tribute to the Secretary-General as well as to all those who contributed to the successful conduct of the World Hearings on Development, held in New York from 6 to 10 June 1994. The World Hearings on Development noted widespread concerns that the new international trading system arising out of the Uruguay Round may not produce the desired benefits, especially to many developing countries. Africa would undoubtedly be worst hit by this reservation, as the continent accounts for about 2 per cent of world trade and only 1.4 per cent of world exports. Although we have noted that the Uruguay Round of the multilateral trade agreement is expected to provide long-term benefits, we cannot but refer to the suggestion credited to a renowned British economist, Lord Marshall, when he stated that "in the long run we may all be dead". For us, therefore, an Agenda for Development must seek to address problems in the short run as well as in the long run.

As a concept, development seeks to underscore the principle of the right to existence, which is the fundamental right of every human being. For us in Nigeria, development is not an agenda item for general debate, but rather it constitutes the very basis of our existence as a stable, dynamic and prosperous nation. We therefore suggest that an Agenda for Development should be seen as providing a new opportunity for the international community to address vigorously and comprehensively the key problem of widespread poverty and the inability of many to secure the basic requirements of life such as food, shelter and clothing for the individual. In this context, efforts made to address the crisis of development particularly in the developing countries have over the years reflected different perceptions by the industrialized countries of the North on the one hand and the developing countries of the South on the other.

The Secretary-General had identified five basic elements of development: peace as the foundation, the economy as the engine of progress, the environment as a basis for sustainability, justice as a pillar of society, and democracy as good governance. In line with our own national approach, people must be at the centre of governmental activities including the goals of development. In our view, development cannot really take place in an environment devoid of peace and security. In this context, democracy by promoting the culture of tolerance and diversity becomes a prerequisite for development. None the less, the parameters of the democratic process must be defined in an evolutionary but pragmatic manner, taking fully into account the political and socio-economic circumstances as well as the values of a people. They cannot be externally contrived or imposed on any country by another or by a group of countries.

We agree with the Secretary-General that the basic responsibility of bringing about change and thus enhance development and progress amongst the people rests with national Governments. We also share the view that this can only happen if national Governments accompany a vision for development with the necessary political will to actualize that vision into an overall commitment to improve the living conditions of the people — all the people — but paying particular attention to the needs of women and the family. For us in Africa, the challenges

of development have reached a critical point in the face of civil strife, low commodity prices, an increasingly and crushing external debt burden, massive poverty and low industrial base. The situation therefore calls for the formulation and implementation of credible national policies as well as development in a mutually beneficial partnership with industrialized countries. In this regard, an Agenda for Development represents for Africa an important opportunity to set a course for international development cooperation for the remainder of the decade of the 1990's and even beyond.

Against the background of the enormous and rapid changes in the international political and economic environment which have brought new and urgent demands into the focus of international cooperation, the need has become even more urgent for a global Agenda for Development. To this end, the international community has a duty to create a global consensus and evolve a sustainable culture of development in the minds of the peoples of the world. With the growing interdependence among nations, an Agenda for Development should focus on ways and means to overcome constraints that prevent the generation of political will at the international level necessary for genuine partnership in global development.

In meeting the goals of development, Nigeria believes that the globalization of the world economy is a process that must be encouraged. We need to arrange the *modus operandi* of international economic cooperation more efficiently and, in this context, to re-evaluate the role of the United Nations as we approach the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. While we are all agreed that the basic principles of the United Nations enshrined in its Charter remain as valid as ever, there is at the same time a widespread feeling among Member States that the United Nations system needs to be effectively reformed and further democratized, without which we cannot meet the challenges of the future.

Towards this end, Nigeria believes that the Bretton Woods institutions should be brought closer to the United Nations system for increasing coordination in order to enable the international financial institutions to pay increasing attention to the broad global objectives of development, as set out in the Charter of the United Nations. In this respect, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund must seek and find increased cooperation with a revitalized Economic and Social Council.

We wish to recall that, since the World Summit for Children, the international community has had its attention focused on environment and sustainable development, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; on human rights, in Vienna, Austria; on the sustainable development of small island developing States, at the Conference in Bridgetown, Barbados; and on population and development, at the Conference which took place in Cairo, Egypt.

These global concerns are timely and very welcome. We must, however, match our words with concrete follow-up actions. Therefore, as we look forward to next year's World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen, Denmark, the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, and the 1996 international Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) in Istanbul, Turkey, it is our expectation that the international community will quickly take action to implement the decisions and programmes adopted at these conferences; by providing the necessary financial resources. We believe that the demonstration of political will by the international community in this collective endeavour will set the pace for global development up to the year 2000 and even beyond.

Mr. Acharya (Nepal): Our fifty years of experience in international peace and security, development, democracy and human rights prove beyond any doubt that development, especially sustainable development, is the key to the general well-being of the people of this world. It is now clear that without economic growth and development the best negotiated peace settlement would, at best, be fragile, still leaving overall security in danger. It is also understood that in the absence of development in the political, social and cultural areas democracy and human rights cannot be fostered. Furthermore, through experience we have understood that development in the social, political, cultural and other areas is contingent on a country's economic growth and sustainable economic development.

The latest report of the Secretary-General on "An agenda for development" (A/49/665), together with his earlier report (A/48/935), clearly indicates his efforts to draft the Agenda. My delegation commends the Secretary-General's reports, which have outlined a number of extremely important areas requiring our attention. The Secretary-General's summation of general recommendations for the following actions deserves the special attention of the international community: first, that Governments, intergovernmental institutions and the

United Nations need to review their priorities with a view to providing necessary attention and support to development; secondly, that poverty eradication is the goal of development; thirdly, that a new framework is required for international cooperation for development; and, fourthly, that the United Nations must play a major role in both policy leadership and operations.

My delegation is of the view that it is now time for the Member States themselves to sit at the table and decide whether the four distinct recommendations of the Secretary-General are adequate prior to launching the Agenda for Development. One of the most important questions before the Assembly is the role we would like to assign to the United Nations in international development cooperation. Such a decision would greatly help in defining the roles of the Bretton Woods institutions and other development actors in the regional and international arenas under the proposed new framework. My delegation does not see any problem with poverty eradication being the goal of development, especially when we are discussing the issue of development — particularly of the developing countries.

While we appreciate the important contribution made by the report of the Secretary-General, we also recognize its shortcomings. When the goal of development is said to be the eradication of poverty, how can the report remain silent about the problems of the least developed countries? The report does not clearly provide an agenda regarding the treatment of the various consensus agreements and conventions of the United Nations in the new framework for development. My delegation believes that there is an absolute need to incorporate the outcomes of past, ongoing and future summits, conventions and conferences in the Agenda for Development. The implementation of the agreed programmes of actions, and future programmes, clearly calls for the financing of these activities. In this regard, we fully support the need for an international conference on the financing of development. The ongoing work on the funding of operational activities for development could provide important input for the conference. In this context, my delegation would like to express its view that the post-cold-war peace dividend can be an important source of development financing.

An Agenda for Development must be a comprehensive agenda. It cannot focus on some areas and ignore the others. It has to take into account all aspects associated with the genuine requirements of the developing countries. It has to be clear as to the institutions handling policy, operational and field activities. It should also be clear as regards the financing of development. Much more work needs to be done to come up with a comprehensive development-agenda package acceptable to the developed and the developing countries. In this regard, my delegation fully endorses the call of the Chairman of the Group of 77 for the establishment of a high-level open-ended working group.

Mr. Mabilangan (Philippines): The Philippine delegation thanks the Secretary-General for his two reports on an Agenda for Development, which we believe ought to be read together. The first discusses concepts in detail; the second offers concise recommendations. We agree with the Secretary-General that

> "Development is the most secure basis for peace". *(A/48/935, para. 3)*

There is much substance in the Secretary-General's reports. He restates what Member States have painstakingly considered and articulated over the years in historic consensus documents and in various resolutions of the Second and Third Committees. We also expressed our views at the high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council session this year and during the consultations conducted by the President of the General Assembly. None the less, we should like to focus on some points that we consider significant.

First, with regard to human development, we hold firmly that development is a right. This is because man is at the heart of development. As every person has a right to life, so must he have a right to perfect his life — a right to total human development. Since a nation is an extension of man's social nature, a nation, too, has a right to development.

Unless we agree on this basic philosophical premise, we shall find it difficult to agree on the logical implications of an Agenda for Development. Development means raising the quality of life of peoples. To begin with, a person's basic physical needs — food, nutrition and health, as well as clothing and shelter — must be met. At the same time, his psychological and intellectual needs should be addressed progressively. This means a stress-free childhood and primary and, possibly, secondary education. With regard to physical and mental faculties, a person's will must also be honed, so that he may make choices with confidence. In the final analysis, the human being is most human in a milieu where he can exercise his will.

With regard to national development, the more fully human every person is, the more developed his nation becomes. The primary responsibility for a person's development rests with that person. As a corollary, every nation is primarily responsible for its own development. But in a community of nations, the international community, too, must share in the responsibility of ensuring the development of all its components.

With regard to international cooperation, the developing countries must be helped, particularly by those that have achieved a higher level of development. The development of all nations will lead to a more fully developed world. The concept of multilateral action and mutual benefit are cardinal. Developing countries can — and, indeed, do — help developed countries. Interdependence is by no means a one-way relationship.

The international community must strive to establish and maintain an economic environment in which developing countries have a chance to thrive and develop, where the gap between developed and developing countries is progressively bridged.

Any good agenda, having responded to the question "Why?" in the first place, must address at least four other focal questions: "What?", "Who?", "How?" and "When?"

With regard to "What?", the Secretary-General's reports refer to a multitude of items that could be similarly addressed by an Agenda for Development. These include poverty, trade, agriculture, industrialization, financial flows, official development assistance and external debt.

We believe that the eradication of poverty, particularly of extreme poverty, is a matter of the highest priority. The eradication of poverty and other issues have been the subjects of many discussions in the past. There is no need to redefine them, but there may be a need to verify their dimensions and to achieve an even more profound insight regarding their impact, not only on national economies, but also on the social and political stability of nations.

Moreover, it is necessary to re-emphasize the linkages between these problems and to understand that their causes lie not only in the ineptitude of developing countries, but also in the macroeconomic policies and trade strategies of developed countries, as well as mammoth transnational corporations.

Action to deal with these issues has also been discussed and agreed upon. Commitments have been made. Any discussion of an Agenda for Development should avoid the renegotiation of commitments, unless these leave room for more drastic and improved action.

With regard to "Who?", the actors involved in the various development issues were identified in Agenda 21. They include men and women, youths and even children. Important roles are to be played by Governments at all levels engaging in democratic and participatory sharing; regional and sub-regional financial and economic-cooperation institutions; non-governmental organizations; multilateral financial institutions; and international organizations. The United Nations and its programmes, funds and specialized agencies are very significant actors.

Identifying individual players is one thing; enhancing motivation and cooperative endeavour is another. Even more important is coordination to ensure that work is properly distributed on the basis of comparative efficiency.

The question "How?" is significant, for if our discussions are not to be sterile they should be action-oriented, and the action must be concrete, specific and pragmatic. It must be geared to results. We should learn from our successes and our failures. Where we succeed, we should continue along that road; where we fail, we should devise new ways of addressing problems.

With regard to "When?", unless we set deadlines for ourselves we tend to procrastinate until the impetus of our commitments is dissipated. We should set time frames for ourselves — realistic time frames that are flexible and capable of revision, but firm — as a means of gauging our sincerity and our effectiveness.

Having made these points, I should like to dwell for a while on a few that my delegation considers also to be of great importance.

The first concerns the country strategy note. Granting that each country has primary responsibility for its own development, we think it imperative that it prepare a blueprint for its vision of its people's future — a blueprint that is ambitious because it must transcend the status quo, but realistic because it must build upon available resources. Such a country strategy note should include programmes and project clusters that may need to be funded from external resources. These programmes

and projects should be presented in such a way that potential donors may readily see how they fit into the strategic vision of the country, and how and to what extent they might be of assistance.

Second, with regard to country specificity, just as developing countries have many problems in common, different developing countries have different development aspirations and different development strategies, according to their personality contours. An Agenda for Development should recognize country specificity. Although it must, of necessity, work on the basis of common denominators, its conclusions should have flexibility of implementation in different development milieux.

Third, on the question of South-South cooperation, developed countries, despite their technological advancement and financial superiority, are not necessarily best at providing assistance. In many cases, developing countries are in a better position to understand the aspirations and problems of other developing countries and are thus better able to provide them with technological assistance and even financial aid.

South-South economic and technical cooperation can ease the burden of developed countries, but it may not be so effective when it relies exclusively on the limited resources of developing countries as when it is supplemented and aided by developed countries.

Fourth, there is the question of capacity-building. The individual is both the end and the means of all development efforts. No matter how abundant a country's natural resources, how advanced its physical and capital equipment or how readily available the financial wherewithal, the level of its development remains low as long as the capacity levels of its people are low. Only when capacity levels are raised, when self-confidence is fostered, can peoples and nations be self-reliant. Capacity-building is a very significant aspect of people empowerment and international competitiveness, not to mention readiness to cooperate and collaborate in international macroeconomic policy-making and development efforts.

It is in this context that an Agenda for Development could properly address the issues of training in science and the transfer of technology on terms that developing countries could afford without jeopardizing the intellectual property rights of the originators.

It is also in this context that an agenda for development might address the issue of centres of excellence, and of all means to improve the minds, the skills and the capabilities of men and women, of youth and of children throughout the world.

Fifth, on the financing of development, an international initiative to achieve development for all countries according to a realistic time frame requires the allocation of financial resources. Consideration of the financing of development — with consequent commitments — is indispensable.

Sixth, mere economic growth does not mean development. Economic growth is an engine for development, a very important means to achieve development. Without the benefits of economic stability, of economic prosperity, a nation and its people could not have the wherewithal to obtain the basic requirements for human and social growth. Such growth has costs, which can be met only through fruitful economic activity. Economic growth in aggregate terms is, however, not necessarily indicative of national growth. Very often, in developing countries, the benefits of economic endeavour are enjoyed by only a small percentage of the population. Because of this, traditional indicators are not very accurate in reflecting the quality of life of peoples. Other indicators must be developed to reflect a people's welfare and quality of life.

Sustained economic growth in itself does not give any indication of a nation's future development. Often, economic growth is achieved at the sacrifice of the environment and of means of production that will be critical for future generations. Economic growth, especially sustained economic growth, should not be at the expense of sustainable development. True development conserves and invigorates the nation's human resources and the environment.

Seventh, the Secretary-General speaks of "preventive" and "curative" development. We understand what he means, although the phraseology is not too felicitous to our ears.

We see the linkage of peace with development. We believe that there can be no lasting peace without development. However, we cannot accept that scarce resources should be utilized for peace-keeping operations and emergency-response measures at the expense of day-to-day development needs.

On the proposal for an open-ended working group, the Philippine delegation associates itself with the

suggestion made by the Chairman of the Group of 77 that an agenda for development meriting the consensus of delegations and the highest political will of all Member States should be carefully studied. An open-ended working group, under the auspices of the General Assembly itself, should be created to study the Secretary-General's reports and their recommendations, as well as related documents, and to formulate our Agenda for Development.

Development, after all, is "another name for peace". It should command our highest priority.

Ms. Arystanbekova (Kazakhstan): Allow me first of all to express my delegation's appreciation to the Secretary-General for preparing and submitting his recommendations contained in document A/49/665, which follow up the report of the Secretary-General on "An Agenda for Development" issued earlier this year in document A/48/935. We would also like to thank Ambassador Insanally, President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session, for his efforts to conduct the World Hearings on Development based on the above report of the Secretary-General, and for summarizing the views expressed by the participants in the World Hearings and in other consultations in the document which we also have before us today — document A/49/320.

Mr. Blandino Canto (Dominican Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The discussions on the issue at hand during the forty-seventh and forty-eighth sessions of the General Assembly, at the World Hearings for Development and at the high-level segment of the 1994 substantive session of the Economic and Social Council clearly showed the very broad scope of an agenda for development, matched quite understandably by a similarly broad spectrum of opinions and approaches to it.

It was not an easy task to scrutinize all the views aired at the above forums and at the same time to maintain the gist and major thrust of our collective thought and vision on the issues of development.

My delegation believes that the new report of the Secretary-General (A/49/665) represents a serious attempt to reflect in a concise and unbiased manner how an agenda for development is discerned in different parts of the world, what are its components and priorities, and what are the possible tools and means which will make the goals of global sustainable development achievable.

On the basis of the emerging consensus on the priority and five dimensions of development - peace, the economy, the environment, justice and democracy, the Secretary-General has correctly formulated, in our opinion, the three key objectives of an agenda for development:

> "to strengthen and revitalize international development cooperation generally; to build a stronger, more effective and coherent multilateral system in support of development; and to enhance the effectiveness of the development work of the Organization itself — its departments, regional commissions, funds and programmes — in partnership with the United Nations system as a whole" *(A/49/665, para. 12)*.

The Republic of Kazakhstan strongly supports the premise that the coherent and consistent combination of development efforts at the national and international levels is the logical way to ensure the most productive international development cooperation through a new partnership based on the commonality of interests and mutual needs of all countries.

The Government of Kazakhstan is fully alive to the many challenges which were brought to its agenda along with the independence. Today we are aware of the initial underestimation of the substance and costs of the transition process and realize that the central focus of transition policy should not be directed to the mechanical application of this or that model of restructuring of the economy, but rather on finding tools and setting conditions for the creation of a sustainable civil society and economy having normal relationships with the rest of the world, and improving the welfare of its people. In other words, this wider policy focus is to ensure that Kazakhstan becomes a fully fledged member of the established and emerging international institutions and markets, where people are fully empowered and capable of participation.

We believe that this wider approach, reflecting two universal interacting trends of this century for strengthened national identity on the one hand and internationalization and globalization on the other, should guide the strategies of all countries.

All agree that the end of the cold war is a very significant and major turning-point in world affairs. With it come many new opportunities, but many new challenges as well. The early post-cold-war years teach

us that we should remain sober and clear-minded in the face of these new opportunities, and at the same time we should not be dismayed by the new challenges and should avoid attempts to lay the blame for them. After all, philosophically we all are responsible for our history, as we are for our future, and understanding this will provide a solid basis for our collective action.

Kazakhstan acts accordingly and tries to make its contribution to fostering regional and international cooperation. Strengthening international economic cooperation is an important component of the initiative of our President, Nursultan Nazarbayev, on Asian security and cooperation — the convening of a conference on interaction and confidence-building measures in Asia. My Government was among those which called for the early economic integration, on a new basis, of the entities in the territory of the former Soviet Union and which proposed promoting this integration through the realization of Kazakhstan's new initiative on the creation of a Euro-Asian union of States. As a sign of recognition of the regional and global benefits of cooperation with developing countries, Kazakhstan joined the Economic Cooperation Organization, and it actively supports current efforts to revitalize this regional organization. In its attempts to emerge as an equal and reliable international partner, Kazakhstan is eager for the support of the international community through recognition of its challenges and aspirations and through real partnership with all countries.

In order to achieve the first objective of the development Agenda and to ensure the success of international development cooperation, two things are indispensable, as is rightly stated in the report (A/49/665) of the Secretary-General. They are the elaboration of an effective multilateral development system with the United Nations as its core, on the one hand, and the enhancement of the Organization's own development activities on the other.

Ironically, it is only after 50 years of our Organization's existence that its original mandate in the social and economic fields, enshrined in the United Nations Charter, has a chance to be fully realized. Although today's world is very different from what the founding fathers of the Organization saw while designing and conceiving the United Nations, my delegation believes that this chance should not be lost.

The first half-century was not wasted by the Organization, and it has developed a long and substantial record of activities in the social and economic fields. Given the universal nature of the United Nations and its extensive worldwide machinery in these fields, the Organization is best fit, in the opinion of my delegation, to play the role of the centre of the multilateral development system. Another question is how the Organization should adjust and adapt itself in order to fulfil this role. The consideration of this important issue should not be postponed for too long and should benefit from views, both positive and critical, expressed at different international forums on the development activities of the United Nations.

But we should not mislead ourselves. Serious consideration of different proposals on how to ensure the central role of the United Nations, how to enhance its internal capacity to act as the core of the multilateral development system, and how to bolster its fruitful cooperation and effective coordination with the Bretton Woods institutions and other actors in the development field will be worthwhile and productive only if there is a real political commitment by all Member States to vest the United Nations with such responsibilities.

If that is the case, Kazakhstan's delegation will support the recommendation to upgrade the standing of the General Assembly as the principal organ formulating policy guidelines in the field of international development cooperation. My delegation also believes that the level of General Assembly debate on social and economic issues should be upgraded accordingly. While supporting in this context the idea of convening every few years special sessions of the Assembly on major aspects of international cooperation for development, my delegation once again invites its colleagues in this Hall to support the initiative of Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev to convene, within the framework of the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization, a special session on the problems of the post-conflict era.

As regards improving the development activities of the Organization itself, my delegation recognizes the importance of improving overall programme coordination and policy coherence within the Organization at all levels. We therefore support the Secretary-General's intention to use the United Nations Development Programme as an important arm in this endeavour, as well as his proposals to strengthen the resident-coordinator and country-driven approaches.

No one would question the great importance of ensuring the availability and predictability of adequate financing for global development activities. We believe

that serious consideration should be given to the many sound proposals made in this regard.

The discussion of the report on an Agenda for Development has gone through different formats and stages, each producing interesting and sometimes unorthodox ideas. My delegation notes in this regard the contribution made by the World Hearings on Development, the open and informal nature of which proved to be quite fruitful. Each stage inevitably brought us closer to an understanding of the priorities and ultimate goals of development. No one would question today the five dimensions of development as defined in the Secretary-General's report or that an individual and his well-being and interests stand at the centre of development. Our collective thought has produced various definitions of development — sustainable, curative, people-oriented, preventive — which correctly reflect this multifaceted phenomenon.

My delegation believes that the process of defining the optimum agenda for development has been set in the right direction. A continuation of the collective quest, which is never counter-productive, will eventually enable us to define and agree upon ways and means to achieve the common objectives of global sustainable development. From this perspective, the delegation of Kazakhstan is ready to participate in the most constructive way in further deliberations on an Agenda for Development.

Mr. Mohamed (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My country's delegation fully supports the comprehensive and informative statement made on behalf of the Group of 77, at the beginning of the general discussion of this item, by the Permanent Representative of Algeria, Ambassador Lamamra.

We have been following with interest, since the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the reports submitted by the Secretary-General on his development initiative because we are firmly convinced that development and peace are intertwined. Development is the very foundation of peace and security. Although the Secretary-General's Agenda for Peace came before his agenda for development, we should hasten to adopt his agenda for development as the right to development is one of the most important basic human rights. As stated by the Secretary-General, development in essence must lead, at the end of the day, to more prosperity and to the eradication of hunger and disease.

The Secretary-General's report submitted under this item reflects the consensus of opinion on the fact that development should be given priority in any new framework of international cooperation. Such cooperation is necessary now more than ever before in light of the positive interdependence between developing and developed countries in terms of mutual interests, common concerns and shared responsibilities, which make it necessary for all countries to join ranks in dealing with issues that are of interest to all.

It is important also to stress the importance of economic growth as the motive power that moves development forward. A more rapid pace of economic growth in developing countries would help to achieve the economic, technical and social transformation that is needed for generating financial and human resources and appropriate technology, the three main pillars of development.

Allow me now to touch upon the Secretary-General's report in greater detail. On the whole, the report deserves our thanks and commendation. It dealt with the issue of development in all its dimensions and broached a number of issues of concern for many developing countries, especially the least developed among them. For example, we agree with the Secretary-General in that development should be defined on the basis of national priorities, and that every individual State bears the primary responsibility for its own development. We also agree with him in that it is necessary to have a favourable growth-oriented international setting for development and that external macroeconomic forces, namely trade, debt management, direct investment, financial flows and access to technology must support development objectives. In this regard, we commend the Governments of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands for achieving the 0.7 per cent of gross national product goal set for Official Development Assistance, a goal not achieved by many other industrial countries.

We also agree with the Secretary-General's statement in his report that a solution must be found for the problem of external indebtedness and with his proposal in this respect which is in conformity with the proposal made by the Foreign Ministers of the Non-aligned Movement at their last meeting in Jakarta in August 1994. We agree with his assertion that countries in transition to a market economy should be supported by additional resources from the international community to enable them successfully to make that sensitive

transformation. It is also necessary to hold the World Hearings on disarmament and development. We agree with the proposal made by the Secretary-General in paragraph 37 of his report calling for the convening of an international conference on the financing of development. We welcome in particular the Secretary-General's proposal regarding the cancellation of the debts of the least developed countries.

With regard to enhancing the relationship between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions, my country's delegation supports the proposal made by the Secretary-General to that end. We would like also to voice our appreciation with regard to the contents of paragraph 54 of the report on the policy conditionality for structural adjustment policies designed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. It may be appropriate for me here to mention that in Sudan, we have implemented ambitious structural adjustment programmes which were praised by the officials of the IMF themselves. However, we have been subjected to a great deal of political pressure that had nothing to do with economic considerations. In short, we all agree that structural adjustment and economic reform are necessary, but only if they are not politically charged.

The recommendations made by the Secretary-General on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in implementing development activities are acceptable. Politically and technically, the United Nations has the wherewithal to enable it to play such a role. It is, after all, an Organization based on the principle of universality. It has at its disposal an incomparable wide-ranging international network. In this context, we should strengthen the role performed by both the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, and enhance coordination between the United Nations system and the Bretton Woods institutions.

In conclusion, the situation in the least developed countries, especially in Africa, is cause for major concern. The countries of sub-Saharan Africa are exhausted by the burden of debt and debt servicing, which obstructs their development. Those countries lack also the infrastructures that would make development activities possible. Therefore, those countries should be accorded a special priority and a special chapter in the agenda for development.

We look forward to participating actively in the open-ended working group which will be set up by the General Assembly to discuss this important issue.

Mr. Rajkan (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish to begin by thanking the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on an agenda for development, document A/49/665 of 11 November 1994, which contains recommendations on strengthening the development activities of the United Nations.

I wish also to thank the Permanent Representative of Algeria, whose statement to the General Assembly set out the position of the Group of 77.

The report of the Secretary-General on an agenda for development is timely; it lays the foundations for action by the General Assembly at this and at future sessions. The formulation of an agenda for development, in conjunction with cumulative output of a number of United Nations conferences over the past few years, will provide valuable guidelines for the United Nations in working for the achievement of sustainable development in all its various aspects. This is a sound approach that will be practicable only through the concerted efforts of the international community to achieve internationally agreed objectives.

The debate on this item has made it abundantly clear that there must be major amendments to the agenda for development, so that it may take into account the national interests of all members of the international community. Only then would the Agenda for Peace and the agenda for development take their place as the two pillars of international development in the economic, social and environmental fields within the context of peace and justice.

The short time that has passed since the issuance of the report has not been sufficient to enable us to study it in depth. We agree with the representative of Japan that consideration by the General Assembly of the item should continue so that we may be able to reach some concrete agreement on the report's salient points next year, at the fiftieth session of the General Assembly.

My delegation wishes to emphasize the following points:

First, responsibility for any country's development and for the setting of its priorities lies first and foremost within the purview of that country's Government.

Second, as far as my country is concerned, my delegation has clearly stated, on several occasions, its position on the point referred to by the Secretary-General

in part D of his report, "Financing for the future", specifically in paragraph 91, concerning a suggested fee on speculative international financial transactions and a levy on fossil fuel use (or its resulting pollution) in all countries etc. In this respect, we have set out our position in four points, namely: first of all, financing the protection of the environment against pollution should be viewed separately from any form of imposition of taxes on energy; as confusing the one with the other would make it possible for industrially developed countries to evade financial commitments under international agreements or resolutions, and would have a negative impact on the world economy in general and on the economies of developing countries in particular. In addition, such taxes, in actual fact, do not serve any genuine environmental purpose; rather they are bound to distort international trade in the energy sector and impede international efforts to liberalize international trade and revitalize the world economy.

On the other hand, we must emphasize an important fact: namely that oil is already much overtaxed. If we are to tax fuel on the basis of its carbon content with the aim of limiting carbon-dioxide emissions, we must reconsider the whole current system of taxing fuel. While new taxes are proposed on petroleum, coal — the cause of much worse pollution — continues to benefit from governmental subsidies.

We must also highlight the importance of considering the available economic measures in dealing with the question of climatic change from the perspective of the interrelationship between fuel, the environment, economic growth and the need for any proposed economic measures to be based on reasonable, well-balanced and comprehensive policies that would be compatible with the requirements of sustainable development and that would not inhibit economic growth or stymie the movement and growth of international trade.

Such reasonable, well-balanced and comprehensive policies dictate that all greenhouse gases without exception should be dealt with in a well-balanced manner from the standpoints of cost, efficacy and economic impact and that, in so doing, the measures relating to dealing with climatic change should be addressed on the same footing as the measures proposed for adapting to that phenomenon.

We are of the opinion that as far as financing is concerned, we should not go beyond the resources provided by voluntary contributions.

Third, my delegation finds that the question of military expenditure should be left to the discretion of national Governments, which alone can estimate their own arms procurement needs in the light of their own national-security requirements and external threats.

Here I should like to refer to a number of impediments to development in all its aspects, in many regions and in many hotbeds of tension that cause concern to the entire international community including my country. Since the end of the cold war, the world has been moving more quickly than ever before in the direction of sustainable development and peace, with special focus on international socio-economic growth. Yet there are those who are trying hard indeed to reverse that tendency, for their own selfish aims at the expense of others. Even more astonishing is the fact that some in the international community support and champion those who are trying to impede development. This inflames the situation further and causes the resultant conflicts to spill over and to spread in other regions.

Every nation has the right to cherish and develop its own culture, and to take pride in it as the source of its identity which distinguishes it from other nations. That should apply to all nations, so long as they uphold international principles.

It is not right that people of Bosnia and Herzegovina should face extermination just because they belong to a different culture. The Islamic culture, which is that of many nations, is a strong living culture whose aim is to improve the human being and to ensure his happiness. The unjust conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina should be halted immediately — justly and in the interest of all parties. In our view, there can be no compensation for the destruction of cultural centres, historic landmarks and intellectual treasures, and environmental, human and material losses brought about during the unjust war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The damage will not stop at the limits it has reached already but its grave negative effects will plague future generations. This indeed is a regrettable situation that brands all humanity with the sign of Cain and brands the international community with the shame of indifference.

It is true that intensive efforts have been and are being deployed by the United Nations to establish peace in different parts of the world. Those efforts, including the United Nations efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina deserve appreciation. However, it is high time the United

Nations stood more firmly and resolutely on the side of right in every part of the world without distinction. It is high time the United Nations championed right by deterrent force, because the Serbian forces, and the mercenaries that have swelled their ranks, continue to defy the will of the international community.

We welcome the recent Security Council resolution and hope that the United Nations will continue to deal with the situation with the same degree of firmness and seriousness. This is a situation that will cause grave damage and hatch so many problems that will spill over into the whole region if it is allowed to persist. The most immediate damage and the most urgent problems can now be seen in the area of trade between nations of the region whose trade relations have been totally disrupted.

There is also another situation that impedes development and peace in the Arab territories that have been under Israeli occupation since 1967, including the city of Al-Quds where the Israeli authorities are trying to change the demographic composition and efface all Arab characteristics through the confiscation of land and the building of settlements. The same applies to the other occupied Arab territories, including the Golan Heights. This is a situation which must be resolved as soon as possible in the interests of the peace process.

My delegation is certain that the Agenda for Peace will achieve its objectives much more comprehensively and efficaciously as and when the United Nations becomes able to put out the fires of dispute and conflict in many parts of the world.

Mr. Muthaura (Kenya): Let me at the outset associate my delegation with the statement made on this agenda item by Ambassador Lamamra, Permanent Representative of Algeria and Chairman of the Group of 77.

May I also thank the Secretary-General for his reports on an Agenda for Development, contained in documents A/48/935 and A/49/665, which reassess approaches to development and the role the United Nations, in coordination with the specialized agencies and the Bretton Woods institutions, should play in support of national and regional efforts to enhance development.

We welcome the exhaustive work which has been done in the preparation of these extremely important reports. We commend the Secretary-General and all members of the Secretariat who played an important role in their preparation. The reports have clearly attempted to define the role that the United Nations should play in realizing the Charter objectives in the area of socio-economic and cultural development. It is gratifying to note that they contain specific recommendations on the central coordination role that the United Nations should play in the area of development, and underline the fundamental responsibility of Governments to develop their countries. They also underline the importance of an enabling international environment and the necessity for effective external development support.

The latest report of the Secretary-General further urges that

> "development should be recognized as the foremost and most far-reaching task of our time." *(A/49/665, para. 4)*

and that development must be seen in its many dimensions with special emphasis on five — namely, peace, economic development, environmental protection, social justice and democracy. We agree with these sentiments with regard to the interrelationship between those dimensions, as there cannot be development without peace, nor can democracy or the enjoyment of human rights be sustained without socio-economic development and peace and stability.

Indeed, the challenges posed in the quest for development are many and complex. The advent of an Agenda for Development requires our positive vision of cooperation to be founded on the realization that, because of the growing interdependency of States, the revitalized and growing economies of developing countries will boost world economic growth and employment.

The recognition of development as a global phenomenon with multifaceted dimensions and numerous actors, requires the international community to adopt new measures and reinforce agreements and commitments already entered into. It requires broadened approaches which define the roles and functions of the different actors with a view to assigning tasks on a comparative advantage basis. The needed culture for sustainable development should put emphasis on addressing the underlying causes of underdevelopment and provide means to ensure recovery and sustainable development.

The General Assembly has in the past made numerous efforts to foster international cooperation in order to address the wide range of issues pertaining to

development, but this fragmented approach has serious limitations in resolving complex socio-economic problems which developing countries continue to experience. However, important lessons can be drawn from these experiences. The integrated approach advocated in the Agenda for Development is a logical choice as the various dimensions of development cited in the report are interlinked, and therefore mutually reinforcing stimulants for sustainable development.

The integrated approach enunciated in the Agenda for Development is therefore commendable. In the case of Kenya, immediate past and current development plans adopt an integrated approach to planning while addressing sectoral developmental issues. Experience has shown that sectoral issues are affected by, and have ramifications for, other sectors. The resolution of such sectoral problems are therefore best sought by a multi-disciplinary and intrasectoral approach.

At the global level, the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development before it are good examples of an integrated approach to addressing related issues within the context of sustainable development.

The policy directions and strategies to take in order to stimulate development, however, should first and foremost remain the responsibility of individual countries, as there can be no substitute for effective and well-conceived domestic policies.

International cooperation for development, nevertheless, is imperative. The role of Governments, regional and international organizations, non-governmental organizations and civil society in general in development cannot be overstressed. Their individual and collective contributions towards policy leadership determine the rhythm of the development process in individual countries and regions. We agree with the view expressed in the report that the responsibility of the United Nations in this regard is a Charter obligation which the Organization should execute in coordination with the specialized agencies and the Bretton Woods institutions, but with decisive leadership by the Economic and Social Council.

Over past years we have seen the United Nations development responsibility eroded considerably, while the influence of the Bretton Woods institutions in the area of development has grown dramatically. Hence the importance of the elements identified by the Secretary-General as the basis for the recommendations presented in document A/49/665 in regard to the revitalization of development policy and the pertinent need to bring it into proper focus within the United Nations system.

In this regard, my delegation would like to see an enhanced United Nations as an effective instrument for development support. We agree that the United Nations is uniquely placed at the centre, with an elaborate network of country offices to shoulder expanded responsibilities in the area of development. We recognize, however, that international development cooperation can be most effectively managed on a decentralized basis at the national, regional and international levels. The commitment to achieving a tangible international cooperation is indeed desirable. Nevertheless, necessary precautions should be taken to ensure that increased coordination of development policies under the United Nations does not create unnecessary bureaucracy in the disbursement of development resources and the drawing up of country programmes. Development coordination should also avoid the tendency towards increased aid conditionalities.

Revitalization of international development cooperation can be effectively forged by the United Nations only through sustained development dialogue and the political will to resolve apparent problems. Major issues that need to be addressed include the eradication of poverty, the stabilization of commodity prices, market access, reduction of debt, debt-servicing, resource flows and transfer of technology. The North should cooperate not only on problems facing it but also on problems which the South is facing or which are of immediate concern to it. The recent successes in the international dialogue have provided important channels for international cooperation in tackling some of the global problems. In particular, the adoption of Agenda 21, the signing of the Uruguay Round Agreements at Marrakesh, Morocco, and the adoption of the Cairo Programme of Action on Population and Development offer international consensus on critical areas of cooperation.

The role of United Nations programmes and funds cannot be overemphasized, for their support complements national efforts and acts as a catalyst for other forms of assistance. Their financial and technical assistance through country programmes particularly targeted at capacity-building and human-resource development, as well as the application of science and technology, is a critical element for development. Such interventions enable many developing countries to increase their

absorptive capacity for resource utilization for sustainable development. It is from this perspective that my delegation supports the Secretary-General's recommendation to emphasize the bottom-up, country-driven programming of development resources, which should be provided without conditionalities. This approach will ensure that developing countries that are participating in the United Nations development activities have taken national priorities in account.

The Secretary-General's report and the related United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s have further emphasized the urgency of taking special measures to speed up Africa's recovery and the integration of the region into the international economic system and technological processes. We support the recommendation for the outright write-off of Africa's debt and the least developed countries and for increased aid flows to stimulate investment and economic growth in that economically depressed region. Development support should match the courageous political and economic reforms which many African countries have been implementing in the last few years, despite the unfavourable international environment.

The restructuring of United Nations organs and programmes should be aimed at enhancing development activities. It is important to ensure that programmes retain their distinct identity and thematic focus. In this regard, we concur with the Secretary-General that there is an urgent need to increase the overall level of development assistance and to ensure that funding for peace-keeping, humanitarian emergencies and the global environment is provided from new and additional resources and not from development assistance.

The Agenda for Development will have a limited impact unless it is backed by adequate resources. In his report the Secretary-General expresses grave concern about the continuing decline in the availability of resources for development. Only four countries have fulfilled their 0.7 per cent commitment made 30 years ago. All the United Nations development programmes are currently cutting down because of shrinking resources. It is in the light of this discouraging fact that my delegation is strongly supporting the Secretary-General's proposal for an international conference on the financing of development to reverse the situation and put development in its proper perspective.

We also support the proposal to convene special General Assembly sessions to serve as mechanisms for review and follow-up, particularly on the agreed commitments that emerge from the international conferences. We further support the ongoing efforts to strengthen the Economic and Social Council and the recommendation that the entire Council should meet at a high level at specific times of year to provide general policy guidance and to review the work of an expanded Bureau.

In conclusion, my delegation associates itself with the view already expressed by other delegations that an open-ended working group should be set up to prepare a declaration on the Agenda for Development on the basis of the report of the Secretary-General now before us and the views of Member States expressed during this debate. It would be desirable for the working group to complete its work at the forty-ninth session so that the declaration could be adopted by the General Assembly during the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization.

Mr. Rovensky (Czech Republic): At the outset, my delegation would like to express its sincere appreciation for the Secretary-General's comprehensive report on an Agenda for Development. In our opinion the Agenda for Development is a realistic document that appropriately draws upon United Nations experience in the field concerned as well as on the extensive discussions and work carried out by many international forums, the academic community, the non-governmental organizations and others.

The Secretary-General's report provides us with two important subjects for discussion. First, there is the recognition of the intrinsic complexity of development as a global social phenomenon, and, secondly, there is the recognition of the profound need for a radically new type of global partnership among all those who are shaping the vast area of international political and economic cooperation in the present post-cold-war era. We are convinced that sustainable development is possible only on the basis of an equitable, truly rational and unbiased partnership of all countries of the world. To achieve that goal it is imperative that all outdated, inadequate or misleading political and economic schemes and stereotypes be abandoned. This, in our view, is the only approach, hard though it may be, by which the world can take a substantial step forward in its development.

Experience shows that it is not and will not be an easy task to achieve the ultimate objective of our work, that is, to create an Agenda for Development that will be

practical in application and that will, at the same time, have a significant impact on development worldwide. We therefore note with considerable satisfaction the merit of our current mode of procedure in discussing and assessing the Secretary-General's report: from the high-level session of the Economic and Social Council to this current session of the General Assembly. We hope and expect that in the end our common effort will produce an answer to the paramount questions: how to push forward with our work on the Agenda for Development, and what guidance to offer the Secretary-General so that the praiseworthy ideas and principles contained in the Agenda will be swiftly and efficiently translated into concrete deeds.

Over the past four years, the Czech Republic, together with other countries of the Central and Eastern Europe, has gone through a process of fundamental political and economic transformation. The old system of a State-dominated, centrally planned economy has been replaced by new economic structures, driven more by the market and less by the State. The results of this process, which is now culminating, are very encouraging. Only four years after this fundamental change, which involved, among other things, the massive privatization of State-owned production facilities, the Czech Republic is out of the red, and the prospects for fast economic growth are more than promising.

After several years of decline and stagnation, for example, the Czech gross domestic product shows positive growth for 1994. This growth is expected to reach some 3 per cent in 1995 and increase in the following years. Our experience provides more positive proof that a well-thought-out and pragmatic economic policy, rational governance and leadership, together with hard work, provide the best foundation for a strong and growing economy. It is also our belief — and our experience proves this — that without these factors, the national economy cannot grow, regardless of external help and support.

On the other hand, we recognize the importance of international economic growth for any country aiming at full integration into the world economy and trade. This is especially important for small, export-oriented countries with few natural resources, of which the Czech Republic is an example. The expansion of our economic cooperation and trade ties with our European neighbours and with trading partners on other continents is a must if we are to attain, and sustain, a high level of economic performance and if we are to make our part of the world an important part of the global economy.

I very much agree with those speakers before me who emphasized that development already is, and must remain, a key item on our economic and political agendas. We believe that deep reflection on the evolution of our understanding of the phenomenon of development and its appropriate implementation at both the national and international levels is urgently needed.

Today's world is more complex than ever before, and the concept of development, therefore, has to be recast in the light of new political and economic realities and trends. For this reason, we fully support the concept of five principal dimensions of development: peace, the economy, the environment, social justice and democracy — described in the Secretary-General's report as being intrinsically intertwined.

The recent high-level discussions at the Economic and Social Council resulted in some concrete suggestions and some challenging ideas on key objectives and key elements of international development cooperation and on the particular role of the United Nations system. It is encouraging that views are converging on the nature of development and on what needs to be done. We are in favour of the idea of developing a comprehensive and well-structured menu of actions, at both the national and international levels, which will accommodate the different development needs of individual countries.

In respect to where the agenda can be strengthened, we would like to stress the following important issues: links between development and democracy, between governance and economic growth, between sustainable development and human resources development; the crucial importance of democracy in its broadest understanding; the role of the private sector and non-governmental organizations; the role of preventive diplomacy; and — last but not least — ways and means of improving and streamlining the institutions and structures of the United Nations system and their interaction with multilateral monetary, financial and trade institutions. The need to increase people's standard of living should be emphasized as the self-evident, ultimate purpose of economic growth within the concept of sustainable development.

The role of the State in the economy has changed significantly in recent years. We would therefore welcome a clearer expression of the fact that a stronger market orientation, supported by a well-balanced macroeconomic policy, efficient governance and democracy, has proved its viability.

The efficient functioning of the United Nations system is a crucial factor in ensuring the viability of the Secretary-General's report, "An agenda for development". One of the most important points made in the report is that, in the face of unprecedented global changes which

> "seem beyond the capacity of traditional forms of international management" *(A/48/935, para. 239)*,

the United Nations must find ways and means to become a key instrument for managing world affairs with a reasonable expectation of success. This aim, however, cannot be achieved without the successful conclusion and implementation of the reform of its socio-economic system. A lot of proposals made on the subject during our deliberations reach further than only coordination because, as it has been correctly stated, the coordination of parts of the United Nations system which are scarcely efficient in themselves is not a real answer.

Another problem which for a long time has been a serious impediment to the proper functioning of the economic and social segment of United Nations activities is duplication. It is high time to weed out all overlapping intergovernmental bodies in order to make our work as efficient and cost-effective as possible. A potential way of tackling this serious problem could be the merging of some United Nations bodies in the main sectoral fields. Proposed clusters could perhaps be trade, food and agriculture, environment, technical assistance and, lastly, investment and industry. These clusters would cover all the main subjects of United Nations activities in the economic and social spheres. Fine-tuning of the process of decentralization of decision-making, controlling and monitoring towards the regional bodies — not necessarily only the current regional economic commissions — could also contribute considerably to United Nations-based activities in this field.

There is another proposal that deserves thorough consideration: specifically, the organization of a consultative mechanism within the United Nations with the main actors in the international economy and trade, including transnational companies and banks.

Let me briefly summarize the views of my delegation on issues under our consideration. We fully support the concept of the five basic pillars of development, as outlined in the Secretary-General's report, "An agenda for development". We realize that there are no easy and simple answers to all the intricate questions and problems relating to concepts of sustainable human development; therefore, we must seek answers through a coordinated effort of the international community, under the leadership of the United Nations. A new understanding and acceptance of the principles of international economic and political cooperation, based on fair and unbiased international relations, should be a by-product of this effort. The outcomes of such a global effort could be a subject for debate during the next session of the General Assembly.

We are confident that the United Nations will seize this opportunity and take a leading role in the global effort to implement the concept of sustainable human development. However, whether or not the United Nations succeeds in this noble task will depend to a large degree on the willingness of all Member States to make the United Nations a truly effective Organization — functional, transparent, efficient and accountable. Streamlining the United Nations system structure and operation by making full use of modern management theory and practice must be the bottom line of all our efforts in this field. This task is of a very urgent nature.

It is our hope that this session of the General Assembly will lay down a solid foundation for the process started by the Secretary-General's report and that it will ensure that the agenda for development translates into a tangible contribution, not just to the development debate, but to the future role of the United Nations in global economic and social activities.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.